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ABSTRACT

Napoleon Bonaparte had both a personal and national interest in books, and he exerted a tremendous influence on the country's libraries during his 16 years as leader of France. In addition to collecting books for his personal libraries (including a traveling library that he took with him on his campaigns), he instituted an accelerated program for the acquisition of books, manuscripts, and other materials for the French National Library, which had been created by confiscating and renaming the royal library in 1792. He also issued a decree that at least one copy of every book published in France be deposited in the national library, and appointed a national commission to aid in acquisition efforts. Books and manuscripts were obtained from centralized storage points established during the revolution to house confiscated holdings of monasteries, churches, and nobles, as well as the Vatican Library, the Escorial Library, the Royal Library in Brussels, and others. (Many of these materials were returned to their original owners under the terms of the Congress of Vienna in 1815.) He also established a library of approximately 1,500 volumes in each secondary school, and a special censorship bureau to suppress books not in agreement with governmental policies. (THC)

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NAPOLEON: HIS INTEREST IN BOOKS AND THE LIBRARIES OF FRANCE

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Napoleon: His Interest in Books and the Libraries of France

ABSTRACT: The name Napoleon elicits an image of battlefields and war. In fact a wealth of material has been written about his life, battles, and exile. Relatively little, however, has been written about a less well-known facet of Napoleon, the bibliophile, a man who developed libraries.

This paper presents Napoleon as a man of peace who had both a personal and national interest in books and the libraries of France. During the sixteen years of Napoleon's reign as the leader of France, he exerted a tremendous impact upon the libraries of France. Under his influence, not only were the libraries of France significantly altered, but the major libraries of other European countries were effected as well. The effects of Napoleon's actions linger on even today.

Some personal details of his life have been included in this article, but the main concern has been placed on Napoleon's relationship with books, his attitudes, and his influence upon libraries.

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The name Napoleon elicits varied reactions. He is respected by military strategists for his martial prowess; by jurists for his civil code; and by others for his many civil programs. His detractors, however, feel that his actions helped foster the development of state nationalism, which subsequently plunged the European continent into two world wars and helped to create many of the social and political problems of modern Europe.[1]

The birth of Napoleon on August 15, 1769 did not provide any signal whatsoever as to the historical events that loomed in his future. His birth was relatively unimportant even in his own family. The one significant family event that was to affect his life and the world was the achievement of his grandfather, Joseph Bonaparte, who secured the right to claim the Bonaparte coat of arms from the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[2] Joseph Bonaparte's accomplishment, coupled with the fact that France had recently annexed Napoleon's Corsican birthplace, paved the way for Napoleon to receive a royal French educational grant.[3]

At the age of nine, Napoleon was sent to Autun where he learned to read and write French. Since he was Corsican, French was not his native language. A few months later, after he had learned sufficient French, he entered the Royal Military School at Brienne where he studied for five years. While at Brienne, Napoleon used the library extensively, reading and rereading works on historical and military subjects.[4]

When he was fifteen, Napoleon entered the Royal Military School (Ecolé Militaire) in Paris. The next year, 1785, he was commissioned a sub-lieutenant. On his first leave, he returned to Corsica with his largest traveling trunk filled with a variety of books. Among them were professional books, French classics, popular philosophies, and ancient Greek and Roman works.[5] This practice of taking books when he traveled became a habit that stayed with him throughout his life.

He returned to Auxonne after his leave and continued to study mathematics, history, and the writings of Rousseau. It was while here that he was arrested for having received his military commission from the king of France. During this confinement he read the "Institute of Justinian" that was to influence his "Civil Code" fifteen years later.[6]

His military assignments provided him with an independent income and he began to collect books as well as just read them. He became friends with a bookseller named Aurel, at whose bookstore he read daily newspapers and scanned books that interested him. Napoleon spent so much time there that he soon lacked new material. He then wrote to a bookseller named Borde in Geneva for new material.[7]

The French Revolution began while Napoleon was in Corsica on leave writing his "History of Corsica". Upon his return to France in 1793, he was stationed at Avignon. It was at Avignon that he wrote "Le Souper de Beaucaire", a short paper in support of the revolution. A few months later, he helped lay siege to Toulon and with its fall began his inexorable climb to gain control of France.[8]

March, 1794, found Napoleon as General in command of the artillery in the French Army of Italy. As this eventful campaign in Italy began, the revolution in France continued its dogmatic reaction against the aristocratic way of life. Many leaders of the French Revolution were well-educated men who wanted freedom and better conditions for the people. Unfortunately, most Frenchmen could not read, much less own books, so libraries or any collection of books were objects of derision to be attacked with revolutionary zeal.

As revolutionary confusion continued to reign, a decree in November, 1789, permitted the confiscation of all ecclesiastical property including libraries which had been developed over many years at monasteries and churches. The decree also proposed the grand idea of bringing all books and manuscripts to several centralized points to be called "Dépôts Littéraires". These were quickly

established throughout the country and every possible facility was utilized for storage: empty warehouses, vacant mansions, and unoccupied schools. Every conceivable means of transportation, even open farm carts, were used to move this enormous quantity of books and manuscripts.

All library holdings of nobles and others who had fled France since the beginning of the revolution were declared to be property of the state. Approximately five to six million confiscated books and manuscripts initially were deposited in the depots. No inventory was made of them, nor was any care given to the books and manuscripts. Many were badly damaged by dust, insects, mildew, or by revolutionaries cutting the leather bindings to remove the previous owner's coat of arms. Even worse were those that were destroyed. It was reported that near Aix, over 10,000 books and manuscripts disappeared and were never found.[9]

The royal library which had been developed by various French kings was confiscated on August 10, 1792, and was renamed "The Bibliothèque Nationale".[10] In 1793, the Bibliothèque Nationale was granted the privilege of visiting the various depots and confiscating those manuscripts that were of interest to its respective collection. At the beginning of 1795, some eight million books and manuscripts had been stored at various depots for redistribution. Many private and religious libraries had been ravaged to fill these depots and many of the best treasures ultimately found their way to the Bibliothèque Nationale.[11]

In 1795, Joseph Van Praet, the librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale, expanded the confiscation from the depots to include books. This process continued until the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale nearly doubled its previous holdings despite the acute shortage of adequate storage space as well as sufficient time to catalog the new material. Van Praet felt that these administrative problems could be dealt with at some later date.[12]

The "Decree Concerning Copyrights" was issued July 19, 1793. The decree stated that "Any citizen who published a work, either literature or engraving, of any type, shall be obliged to deposit two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Bureau of Engraving of the Republic and receive a receipt signed by the librarian, without which he may have no recourse to the law for the prosecution of infringers".[13] Although some writers complied, the decree generally was ignored.

As history has demonstrated, libraries and their treasures often become victims of war. Charles VIII of France had expropriated a portion of the collection in the Aragon Library of Naples in 1495, and in 1500 Louis XII seized the entire collection of the Sforza Library of Pania. Napoleon followed this same pattern of appropriating libraries and library materials, as his victorious armies moved through Europe. The most famous library to fall victim to his army was the Vatican Library in Italy in 1796. Five hundred of the Vatican's best manuscripts were sent to Paris, although a few were returned to the Vatican in 1815 after the fall of Napoleon.[14]

Napoleon returned to Paris in early 1797. Hailed as a public hero because of his stunning military victories in Italy and Austria, he was likewise mistrusted by the national governing body, the "Directory". To ease mistrust on the part of the Directory, but in order to maintain his image before the French populace and to fulfill a personal desire, Napoleon decided to journey to the Near East. The Directory accepted Napoleon's proposal and the "French Egyptian Expedition" sailed on May 19, 1798.

Napoleon had assembled an odd assortment of people for the expedition. The majority were military and naval personnel, but also included was a large contingent of administrators, scientists, artists, scholars, and librarians.[15]

Louis-Madeleine Ripault, who would later become Napoleon's first private librarian, was part of this expedition.

It was on this expedition that Napoleon took the first of the portable libraries which he would carry with him on all succeeding campaigns. The collection consisted of special editions that were specifically printed, bound, and fitted for portable library cabinets. Included in the collection were books relating to the arts and sciences, geography, travel, poetry, novels, politics, morals, and a large number devoted to history. He carried a large map library not only applicable to the Near East invasion, but extending to Bengal and the Valley of the Ganges. Clearly, Napoleon's sights were set on further conquests, conquests in which his books and maps would play an integral and important part.[16]

In July, 1797, Napoleon won a major victory at Abaukir. More important than the military victory were recently-dated European newspapers hastily discarded by retreating English soldiers. After poring over the newspapers and learning that the armies of the French Republic were being defeated on all European fronts, Napoleon decided to immediately return to France.[17]

Barely two months later, he was elected First Consul. It was during this period that Napoleon proved most effective as an administrator. He developed and implemented the foundation for the administrative, legal, financial, religious, and library frameworks which eventually would shape the destiny of France in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[18]

Paris was destined to become Napoleon's French cultural center. Soon after he was crowned Emperor, Napoleon extended that vision and saw Paris as the cultural center for all of Europe. He devoted himself tirelessly to collecting books, manuscripts and other interesting materials for France (and himself) whenever traveling or campaigning. He ordered the acquisition and processing of

books, manuscripts and other materials to be greatly accelerated for the Bibliothèque Nationale. To this end, a national commission was established to aid the acquisition endeavor. The commission authorized a former Benedictine monk, Jean Baptiste Mangerard, to travel throughout the Rhine region to purchase valuable medieval manuscripts and books. Mangerard paid petty sums for most of the materials selected because the owners were afraid to question a Napoleonic representative. In short order, Mangerard's acquisition activities yielded 4,000 manuscripts and 1,500 books, mainly incunabula.[19]

Some of the other libraries that were pillaged by Napoleon's agents were the Vatican Library in Rome, the Escorial Library in Madrid, the Royal Library in Brussels, and the library in Wolfenbüttel. In 1808, the Royal Library in Vienna secretly transported many of its valuable books down the Danube to be hidden in Hungary for eight years until the threat from Napoleon's agents was past. A considerable part of the materials taken by Napoleon's agents as spoils of war were later returned to their rightful owners in accordance with the terms of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Books with their leather bindings stamped with the coat of arms of Napoleon or that of the Bibliothèque Nationale may now be found in several of these libraries.[20] A large portion of the confiscated material will never be returned to the rightful owners due to its identity being obscured.

As for the Bibliothèque Nationale, the revolution had demanded a more democratic management scheme than had existed under the previous royal rule. An eight-man board was conceived to govern the library with two members responsible for printed books, three for manuscripts, two for antiquities, and one for prints. Napoleon appointed his brother, Lucien, to the board in 1808. Part of Lucien's duties were to gradually return the control of the Bibliothèque Nationale to that of a single director. It would require nearly fifty years before this was accomplished.[21]

To ensure that Paris would become France's cultural center, Napoleon insisted that at least one copy of every book published in France be deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A compulsory exchange took place whenever another French library had a book that the Bibliothèque Nationale needed to complete it's collection. This compulsory exchange was costly. The annual appropriation for books had to be increased while additional special grants were allocated to buy books to help fill gaps in the collection. The law relating to legal deposit of copies was now strictly enforced.[22]

Joseph Van Praet, a bibliographer, served the Bibliothèque Nationale for fifty-two years (1784-1836). His period of service spanned the royal, revolutionary, and Napoleonic periods. Van Praet was the first librarian to secure the authority to make initial selections for the Bibliothèque Nationale at the "dépôts littéraries". Employing his professional knowledge to the utmost, he collected approximately 300,000 books for the Bibliothèque's collection. Unlike many librarians of that time, he opened the library daily and enjoyed having students and educated men use it. When the Congress of Vienna forced France to return books that had been confiscated by Napoleon, Van Praet was devastated at the thought of returning the looted books. Using his professional skills artfully, he succeeded, by careful substitution and duplication, to maintain possession of some of the more valuable volumes.[23]

The privilege of access to the depots was eventually extended to other major libraries in Paris such as the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Sainte-Genevieve. As these libraries and the Bibliothèque Nationale continued to acquire materials from the depots in Paris, the inventory was eventually reduced to the point where all remaining materials were consigned to the l'Arsenal. In 1803, Napoleon used the remaining materials in the provincial depots, as well as some seven million volumes that had been transferred from the central secondary schools, to establish

new provincial libraries called "municipal" or "village" libraries. The administration of these libraries were entrusted to local officials, but Napoleon retained control of the books as property of the national government.[24]

As First Consul, Napoleon began to develop the Bibliothèque Nationale as a literary center. At the same time, however, he took action against the free press. Napoleon hated the printed word when it did not agree with his ideas and he certainly did not believe in the freedom of the press. By the end of 1811, only four political newspapers in Paris were still publishing. No new ones were allowed to be established. Even provincial and religious newspapers were brought under state control. Napoleon ultimately achieved his desired impact on public news sources: his personal point of view would be presented by either an official or semi-official newspaper in every area under his control.[25]

Along this same line, Napoleon suppressed any publication believed to be dangerous to his reign. His decisions were generally based on information supplied to him by the Minister of Police or by his librarian, Ripault. Both were under orders to read, examine, and analyze all books, newspapers, plays, etc., that appeared in Paris, and were to give daily or weekly resumés to Napoleon. They were physically unable to keep up with the welter of reading and report writing this entailed. To aid in this review of material Napoleon established the "Directeur de l'Imprimerie" (Director of Printing) and a panel "Censeurs Imperial" (Imperial Censors) in February, 1810. He than proceeded to close 97 of the 157 publishing companies then in operation, reducing the censorship work load substantially. Remaining publishers were required to take out a license and swear an oath of loyalty to the Emperor.[26]

A special censorship bureau was established on December 14, 1810, which took control of all book publishing. To this end, the "General Director of Printing and Bookselling" was created within the Ministry of the Interior. A writer was

required to submit his book to the bureau for approval before it could be considered for publication. If the contents were not in agreement with prevailing governmental activities or policies, publication was denied. Even if a book was permitted to be published, a future change of government policy could cause it to be declared dangerous to the regime and the author subsequently arrested.[27] Nearly twelve percent of all manuscripts submitted in 1811 were refused publication and in the following year less than four percent of those submitted were published. To maintain this degree of censorship, library reading rooms, leading libraries, and the activities of newspaper peddlers were carefully monitored to ensure that no "illegal" information was being passed to the public.[28]

The harshness of Napoleon's information control program was a burden to France's literary world, yet the enactment of the law "Rule of Literary Property", virtually the equivalent of the present-day copyright law, was a protection to the individual writer. This law enabled the writer and the widow of a writer to retain the rights to the author's works so long as either lived. Any living children would retain the original rights for an additional twenty years. The law was so well written that it lasted over a half-century, eventually forming the nucleus of the new law written in 1866.[29]

Even these actions did not satisfy Napoleon. He demanded a centralized government. His reorganizational process was so effective that parts of the modern French government remains closely aligned in his arrangement even today.

The Office of Education was one of the first government agencies he decided to centralize. He established a secondary school system, the "Lycée", that was to produce a trained middle class to operate his governmental agencies. To help the "Lycée" teaching programs, he issued a decree on December 9, 1802, which established a library of approximately 1500 volumes in each school. Each school was to have identical collections with the government selecting all of the books.

The Minister of Police and the Minister of the Interior were to act as book censors to ensure that no unauthorized books found their way into the collections.[30]

Napoleon's demand that he be kept informed about books caused him to initiate a new publication on November 1, 1811, entitled Journal General de l'Imprinterie et de la Librarie (General Journal of Printing and Bookselling), a list of all the books that were being published in France. The title was later changed to Bibliographie de la France, and has been published continually since its inception.[31] This single act of Napoleon has significantly aided historians, researchers, and book dealers to a degree that is virtually incalculable today.

This same demand for information led Napoleon to maintain a private librarian on his staff at all times. When he was exiled to St. Helena without a professional librarian, he trained his former footman, Louis-Etienne Saint Dennis, to act as his librarian. De Bourriene, his first official secretary, acted as librarian when Napoleon purchased the books that stocked his first personal traveling library. Napoleon gave De Bourriene a handwritten list of the 150 cabinet-sized editions that were to be obtained for the Egyptian campaign.[32]

Napoleon realized the value of a library, and established private libraries at all of his residences. Ripault was responsible for organizing the libraries at Fontainebleau, Laeken, Malmaison, Rambouillet, Saint Cloud, Tuileries, and other smaller ones at lodges, etc.[33] There were critics who felt that Napoleon was imitating Frederick the Great of Prussia, who maintained five libraries for his private use as well as a small library that accompanied him when he traveled. Like Frederick the Great, the different residential libraries of Napoleon held the same books and were classified in the same manner to simplify retrieval.[34]

Ripault discovered that the position of personal librarian to Napoleon involved more responsibility than just occasionally selecting a few books for the

Emperor. In 1799, the day after Ripault became the librarian for Napoleon, he was asked to choose and move approximately 10,000 volumes from the Military School Prytanee. Ripault's selections were destined to form the basis for the library at Saint-Cloud. In February, 1806, he moved the book collection at "Bibliotheque de Conseil d'Etat" to the Palace Fontainebleau to form its library.[35]

Ripault was likewise charged with supplying the Emperor with outstanding novels. Napoleon's secretary constantly wrote to Ripault to convey the Emperor's remarks that he had nothing to read. Contributing to the dilemma was the fact that Napoleon had access to information which permitted him to learn of new titles before Ripault could even process them. Ripault struggled to furnish new books to the Emperor every day. Since Napoleon supposedly had the ability to read nearly two books an hour when he had free time, his personal reading prowess exacerbated the situation.[36]

To further enhance his library operations, Napoleon employed the former librarian of Frederick the Great, Abbe Giacomo-Maria-Carlo Denina of Paris. Again, critics thought this was an imitation of Frederick. Quite simply, Napoleon wanted the best for France and argued that why shouldn't he hire the most learned librarian of that time, a man currently unemployed?[37]

Ripault served Napoleon for nearly seven years, but when Napoleon employed Denina as associate librarian to Ripault, Ripault decided to retire. Ripault apparently felt that he was being placed in a subordinate position to Denina, especially when the latter was awarded the honorary title of "First Librarian". Napoleon asked Ripault to return, but he refused to reconsider.[38]

The renowned bibliographer, Antonine-Alexander Barbier, became Napoleon's librarian in 1807 after Ripault's retirement. Barbier had been actively involved in the rescue of thousands of important manuscripts and books from the depots. He saved the valuable historical letters of Pierre-Daniel Huet and the complete

collection of Francois Fenelon's manuscripts. Barbier continued the previous work of Ripault in the reorganization and development of the private libraries for Napoleon, and established libraries for the two French Empresses.[39] Barbier was Napoleon's last official librarian and remained faithful until Napoleon was sent to St. Helena.

Napoleon continued his practice of demanding to be kept informed, so Barbier experienced the same responsibilities and difficulties as his predecessor. He followed Ripault's practice of briefing Napoleon on the latest information contained in the newspapers at breakfast. On Wednesday's, after Napoleon and the Empress had finished dining and she had retired, Barbier would present to the Emperor any new books that had been sent by various authors. Napoleon would briefly look at them. Those which did not interest him or ones he disliked were thrown into the fire. He normally chose only one or two books to be given closer inspection and attention.[40]

Barbier developed a portable library for Napoleon which was comprised of boxes divided into compartments to hold small editions. Each box had space for accommodating approximately 120 volumes. A catalog accompanied each box and each book had a specific place, so Napoleon could find it without difficulty.

Barbier was asked to develop a special pocket-sized edition of various classical and reference books for another portable library. The collection was to consist of 3000 volumes encased in 25 boxes. All books were to be of uniform size, printed on thin paper, have small margins, and be edited by leading scholars. It took Barbier six years to develop and complete this set which was burned during Napoleon's retreat from Russia.[41]

Napoleon's traveling coach was also equipped with books for both pleasure and study. When Napoleon found a book that he did not like or would not need, he

simply threw it out of the coach window. When the Empress Josephine traveled with him, the newest books were put in the carriage so that she could read them to him.[42]

Claude Francois de Méneval, the Emperor's secretary, wrote to Barbier just as he had written to Ripault asking for more books and more reference information. Some of the reference questions asked of Barbier between 1810 and 1814 included requests for information on sea piracy, a treatise on the tiara and its origin, an outline of the life of Charlemagne, and the protocol for crowning the heir apparent. Méneval ordered research into whether any ruler had ever suspended or deposed a pope.[43] When war with Russia seemed imminent, books on the topography of Russia and Lithuania, as well as books in French on the successful military campaigns of Charles XII of Swenden in Russia and Poland, were requested.[44]

The Treaty of Fontainebleau, signed on April 12, 1814, marked the end of Napoleon's reign. When Napoleon learned that Elba was to be the official location of his exile, he followed past practice and requested information and books about the island from the libraries in Paris.[45] He had Barbier pack an assortment of books that were to accompany him. Among them were his favorite authors, i.e., Plutarch, Virgil, Caesar, Ariostro, Tacitus, Thucydedes and Tasso. Napoleon also planned to write a history of his reign and military campaigns. He requested that reference such as the Moniteur, the Bulletin des Lois, the Codes, and the Recueil des Traites de paix, and other legal items be included in the material that was to be sent to Elba. It was arranged for Barbier to send him all the new publications believed to be of interest to him.[46]

It is only conjecture that had events progressed differently, Napoleon would have been content to stay on Elba and write his history. However, such was not the case. His son, whom he adored, was not allowed to join or even visit him. Louis XIII would not pay the promised living allowance, veiled threats of his

removal to St. Helena were made, and there was general unrest, and active conspiracies in France for his return. A year had not passed before he returned to France, but even in the midst of this historical action, Napoleon took time to arrange to have the books that he had taken to Elba be returned to their original home at the Fontainebleau Library.[47]

The "Hundred Days" that Napoleon was to experience upon his return to France passed rapidly. Even as Napoleon was preparing for what was to be his last campaign, he ordered a portable library of 800 volumes be prepared which accompanied him to Waterloo.[48]

After his defeat at Waterloo on June 18, 1815, Napoleon toyed with the idea of requesting passage to either England or the United States. He asked Barbier for a list of works on America and a list of all the books that had been written concerning himself and his campaigns. He also wanted Barbier to develop a portable contemporary library. These and the other books were to be consigned to a friendly American's house, and shipped to America via Havre. General Gebhard Lebrecht von Blucher, whom Napoleon had defeated in earlier campaigns, and who hated Napoleon intensely because of these defeats, stopped Barbier from completing this task.[49]

Napoleon soon realized that he would not be allowed to go to either England or America. On July 15, 1818, he boarded the British naval ship Bellerophon. On August 7th, he was transferred to the Northumberland, and a little over three months later, on October 17th, he arrived at St. Helena.

Twenty-five persons accompanied Napoleon into exile, but he was not permitted the luxury of a librarian. His footman, Louis-Etienne Saint-Denis, who had accompanied him on his campaigns, was entrusted with Napoleon's library for the next five-and-a-half years. Napoleon initially took 600 bound volumes to St. Helena, and more were added as he was able to obtain them.[50]

Napoleon enjoyed reading aloud, or having someone read to him. Many evenings were spent in this fashion. Reading was to be one of Napoleon's chief methods of relaxation and distraction in exile. There were never enough newspapers or books to satisfy his insatiable curiosity. Worse perhaps, was the fact that his small library lacked some of his favorite works and authors.[51]

While in exile, Napoleon was not permitted to have contemporary books or newspapers. When authorized material did arrive, it always was outdated and without a catalog or explanation as to who had sent it.[52] Often several hundred books would arrive at one time and each book would have to be individually censored before Napoleon could have it. He eagerly awaited these censored shipments. As each volume was handed to him he would glance quickly through it. If it appeared interesting, he would place it in one pile while the others were tossed in a heap to be read at some later date. He would put the books initially selected for reading on a table near his sofa to be read at leisure: he would read or reread ten to fifteen books a week. If he read something that was unfamiliar, he would send for all the books that he had in his small library on that subject.[53]

Lady Elizabeth Holland, an admirer of Napoleon, sent nearly 2,000 books at one time, to be delivered by the new English governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, in 1816. Lady Holland continued to send packages to Napoleon that contained books and other items of personal interest. In appreciation for her kindness, Napoleon bequeathed her a small box decorated with a cameo.[54]

Napoleon once asked for some special books which he thought were necessary for the writing of his memoirs. The books were dutifully supplied, but he also received a bill from Sir Lowe. When Napoleon refused to pay, this frustrated Sir Lowe so much that upon Napoleon's death, Lowe seized the books and sold them for a small sum. Lowe did not realize the possible historical significance of

these books. The content of the books were not as valuable as the notes Napoleon often made in the margins of the books that he read. These notes might have given future historians some insight into Napoleon's philosophy, opinions, and general reactions in his final years of exile.[55]

Napoleon, though a man of war, was also an advocate of science, art and literature. He wanted the best possible men to carry out his library and book-related desires. Napoleon's personal feelings did not influence which scholar would serve in an important position. In fact, many of the scholars whom he chose, and who served him well, held political views vastly different from his own. Jean-Claude-Frances Daunou despised Napoleon's political policies yet served him faithfully as a librarian at the Panthéon (Ste.-Genevieve) and as director of the national archives from 1804-1815. Daunou wrote his famous Essai historique la puissance temporelle des papes in 1810 at Napoleon's request in support of action against Pope Pius VII. Daunou also was entrusted in 1811 to arrange the transportation of the valuable pontifical archives to Paris. Jacques-Joseph Champollion (Figeac) was appointed librarian at the Grenoble Library and acted as secretary to Napoleon in writing the account of his passage from Elba to Grenoble. His brother, Jean-Francis Champollion, who later discovered the key to deciphering the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, was appointed by Napoleon as chief librarian at the Grenoble Library. Neither were followers of Napoleon. And finally Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon, a staunch Republican, best known for the translation of the Greek writings of the Rosetta Stone, was appointed the chief librarian at the Arsenal by Napoleon.[56]

The stringent demands that Napoleon placed upon the army for accuracy and attention to detail carried over into the administration of the French government and his private life. Napoleon expected his private libraries, the libraries of France, and even Europe to meet his criteria for a universal standard. At

each of his palace libraries, he insisted on a single classification scheme which he also wanted implemented throughout Europe. The Bibliographic de la France was developed to help meet his need for bibliographical control. His "Rules of Literary Property" were so successful that they endured for over half a century. His forced consolidation of many of the German libraries enabled them to fulfill the role of providing literary resources for the advancement of library studies after 1815 when the French library movement began to fail.[57]

Books were an important fact of Napoleon's fascinating and complex life. His daily reactions were affected by what he read and he believed in studying for the purpose of increasing the intellect and reasoning powers. Napoleon proved that he was fully capable of using library resources as a tool for the achievement of his personal and national goals. Standing on the balcony of Les Invalides, Napoleon's final resting place, and looking down on the white marble sarcophagus of this extraordinary man, one wonders what he could have achieved for the library world had that been his sole interest.

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